

The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe



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King George Opens British Parliament

Traditional Pomp and Ceremony Mark Annual Convening of Houses of Lords and Commons

FORM OF GOVERNMENT STUDIED

Self-Government Has Developed Slowly Over Hundreds of Years

For the first time in the history of England a king and queen have ridden to the opening of parliament in a motor car instead of the traditional gilded, horse-drawn coach. For centuries the convening of the "mother of parliaments" has been attended by a ceremony, a pageant, in which king and lord and royal trapping have played their parts with all the pomp and circumstance befitting such a distinguished occasion. It matters not that Britain is the fountainhead of modern democracy. The opening of parliament is the king's day, the nobleman's day, and the plain commoners who really rule are fitted quietly into the background until the ceremonials are over.

But this year, as has been remarked, part of the ritual was omitted. One of London's famous pea-soup fogs slithered into the last corner of every crooked street in the city, and King George, fearing for the health of the members of his family, directed that the usual ride to parliament in the slow-moving coach be given up in favor of the more comfortable, if less picturesque, automobile.

The King's Speech

For the rest, however, the pageant was performed to the last careful detail just as it has always been. According to age-worn custom the king and queen are driven from Buckingham Palace, their residence, to the House of Lords. Wearing the ancient British crowns and dressed in their royal robes they ascend the thrones in the main chamber of the House of Lords. The room is thronged with peers and peeresses, England's nobility, in scarlet and ermine garments. In the back are the humble "commoners" who have been summoned from the House of Commons. The king delivers a brief speech in which he addresses his hearers as "My Lords and Members of the House of Commons." He speaks of "my ministers," and of "my relations with foreign powers." Nowhere is there any indication that the king is a modest figure divested of practically all power. Even his grandiose speech is written for him by his cabinet.

And in the mind of the Englishman this is as it should be. Theoretically the king is not the servant of the people but a monarch who has the grace and wisdom to permit full self-government to his loyal subjects. Today, just as always, laws are enacted only after the royal consent has been obtained. It is true that this consent is given as a matter of course and that a king who dared to veto an act of parliament would soon find himself faced with the unpleasantness of an abdication. But still, in theory, power rests with the king. This explains the importance of the ceremony which each year marks the opening of parliament. It is a day on which England pays tribute to its king and to his kingly prerogatives.

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ENGLAND

A medieval thread is still woven into the British fabric as ancient traditions, symbolized by aging cathedrals, are kept in a day of intense commercial rivalry. (From a drawing by Stephen Reid in "English Journey," by J. B. Priestley. Harpers.)

The Supernormal Life

"The origination intellectual worker is not a normal being and does not lead nor desire a normal human life. He wants to lead a supernormal life," says H. G. Wells in his new book, "Experiment in Autobiography." Men and women are normally busy with immediate necessities. They are not concerned with scientific, artistic, literary pursuits and problems. They have no time for these things. "Most individual creatures since life began," says Mr. Wells, "have been 'up against it' all the time, have been driven continually by fears and cravings, have had to respond to the unrelenting antagonisms of their surroundings, and they have found a sufficient and sustaining interest in the drama of immediate events provided for them by these demands. Essentially their living was continuous adjustment to happenings. Good hap and ill hap filled it entirely. They hungered and ate and they desired and loved; they were amused and attracted, they pursued or escaped, they were overtaken and they died."

"But with the dawn of human foresight and with the appearance of a great surplus of energy in life, such as the last century or so has revealed," Mr. Wells continues, "there has been a progressive emancipation of the attention from everyday urgencies. What was once the whole of life has become, to an increasing extent, merely the background of life. People can now ask what would have been an extraordinary question five hundred years ago. They can say, 'Yes, you earn a living, you support a family, you love and hate, but—what do you do?'"

This is a question which each of us may ask ourselves with profit. Of course the greater part of our time must necessarily be taken up with the ordinary tasks of the daily routine. But are we saving out portions of each day for really distinctive pursuits? Do we find some time for quiet thinking; some time for the exercises which lead to a growth of mind and soul? Do we have some time for music or art or literature? Do we spend at least a few moments in some activity which lifts us above the background of our lives and into higher realms of living and thinking? Can we feel for a while each day that we are realizing our very best possibilities? It is hard to do this. Each individual tends to be swallowed up by his daily routine. Each day tends to be a round of inconsequential happenings, each of which leaves him where it found him so far as personal distinction is concerned. If we are going to make our lives count for ourselves and for others, we must learn how to break through these daily routines, and devote some part of our time to the achievement of that experience which Mr. Wells calls "the supernormal life."

Political Patronage Grows in New Deal

Merit System Has Been Disregarded in Making Most Appointments to Emergency Bureaus

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM DEBATED

System Based on Training and Merit, Similar to Britain's, Held Necessary

One frequently hears the charge that the Roosevelt administration, though professing loyalty to the principle of the merit system rather than the spoils system of appointments to office, has, as a matter of fact, practiced the spoils system more flagrantly than have any other recent administrations. Some of the administration critics go so far as to say that administration policies have put back civil service reform for many years. There is a general impression that the president himself believes wholeheartedly in the merit system, but that he has allowed some of his subordinates, particularly Postmaster General Farley, a free hand in the distribution of political plums. All agree that many of the president's most important appointments have been made without regard to politics. But minor offices and ordinary "jobs" are passed about, so it is said, as political favors.

The administration is accused of a partisanship for which we must go back many years in our history to find a parallel. Before we consider these charges—before we examine the patronage policies of the Roosevelt administration—we should review the history of the American civil service. This will help us to see the meaning and significance of the things which are now being done in Washington.

Historical Background

As we begin a study of the principles which have governed appointments to office in the United States, we will find it convenient to break our national history up into three periods. The first period extended from the organization of the government in 1789 to the Jackson administration which took office in 1829. The second period runs from Jackson's inauguration to the enactment of the civil service law in 1883. The third period runs from the beginning of civil service reform to the present time. These periods, it will be observed, are fairly equal in length.

From Washington to Jackson politics played a minor part in appointments to office. Part of this period was characterized by fierce partisanship, it is true, and many officials were appointed and removed for political reasons. But the great body of government employees had reason to feel fairly secure in the possession of their offices. The idea prevailed that men should be chosen because of their fitness for office rather than for partisan reasons.

Andrew Jackson came into office with a different idea. He and his followers believed that the work of the government was, or should be, simple, and that offices could be handled sufficiently well by average citizens. There was no necessity for appointing specialists. Officers should do what the people wanted them to do. That was the Jackson conception of democracy.

(Continued on page 7)

Notes From the News

Hutchins Commission Calls for Revival in Foreign Trade; Insull Not Guilty; War for Publicly Owned Utilities Under Way; Butler Reveals Fascist Plot

JUST about a year ago, representatives of the leading organizations devoting their attention to social science appointed a committee, with the somewhat formidable title of Commission of Inquiry Into National Policy in International Economic Relations, to make recommendations for a sound international commercial policy. The commission was directed by Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago. Last week, the group completed its studies and made its recommendations in a 400-page report.

The Hutchins group believes that the United States should change its economic tactics as quickly as possible. It should immediately set out to revive foreign trade rather than continue its policy of economic isolation. Revision of the tariff is the first step to be taken, according to the commission, and it should be started at once by speeding up the negotiation of reciprocal treaties with as many countries as possible. Then, the general level of all import duties should be drastically scaled down in order to enable foreigners to sell more of their goods to us.



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ROBERT M.
HUTCHINS

Other recommendations designed to break down the solid wall of trade impediments include the settlement of the war debt mess by virtually cancelling them or at least negotiating a lump-sum settlement. The Johnson Act, which forbids American loans to countries in default on their debts, should, in the opinion of the commission, be repealed. The American dollar should be stabilized and the exportation of gold from this country permitted in order to facilitate trade, it is held. Other suggestions, not pertaining directly to economic matters, include America's joining the World Court and repeal of the immigration laws which discriminate against the oriental countries.

Long Pursuit and Trial of Insull Ends in Acquittal

Many people have expressed surprise that Samuel Insull has been acquitted. Is it not a fact, they ask, that he so conducted his business as to cause a loss of about \$1,000,000,000 to investors who had confidence in him and who had little means of determining the safety of his enterprises? Should not a man be punished for having done such a thing as that? The answer to an attitude of that kind was given by Judge Wilkerson in his instructions to the jury. A man is not to be punished, he said, for poor business judgment. He can be punished only for breaking the law. In this case, Mr. Insull was charged with having used the mails to defraud. He could be convicted not for selling through the mails a proposition which caused other people loss but for using the mails with an intention to defraud. The government did not prove to the satisfaction of the jury that there was any intention on the part of the utilities magnate to defraud.

This does not settle the Insull case, for other charges are yet to be aired in court. As for the larger significance of the case, we commend these thoughtful editorial remarks of the New York Herald-Tribune:

As far as the charge of mail fraud goes, the question is settled with the jury's determination that Mr. Insull and his associates were guilty, not of a crime, but of bad judgment. That does not answer the problem, however, raised by the modern elaboration and development of the corporate mechanism—a development which may leave the interests of hundreds of thousands of individuals and of the community as a whole completely dependent upon the judgment purposes and business methods of a small group of men more or less free from outside check. This is the dilemma of the modern economic structure. The only thing which has made possible the vast economic strides of the last century has been the large-scale mobilization and unified direction of wealth which the corporate mechanism per-

mits, but that in turn makes the mistakes, when they come, more disastrous and more widespread in their effects. One of the chief problems which the American system must solve over the coming years is that of establishing a greater social responsibility and soundness of method in the control of the larger aggregations of corporate wealth and power.

One must gravely doubt, however, whether the criminal law will ever provide more than a very minor and auxiliary instrument toward this end. Even had the government been able to prove its contention in the Insull case, meting out punishment to Mr. Insull would still not have restored the money lost nor even have served as any worthwhile safeguard to future investors caught in some future boom hysteria. The law, which is always developing, must and will gradually develop into a more efficient instrument of social control over corporate enterprise than it always is today; the real advance, however, must lie in the advance, with experience, of standards of responsibility, care and sound judgment among business leaders—and among the public itself.

Legality of TVA Challenged as Power Fight Looms

When President Roosevelt visited the dams and power plants in the Tennessee Valley a few days ago he strongly endorsed public ownership and control in the power industry. The president predicted that the time would soon come when cities throughout the country would follow the example of Tupelo, Mississippi, the first town to agree to secure all its power through the TVA. Such a course of events will naturally mean that private power concerns will steadily have to lower their rates in order to meet the competition of non-profit-making government utility plants, and eventually these private concerns will disappear. So it is no surprise that owners and stockholders in the utility industry are aroused. They have declared war on the Roosevelt administration and a lively battle is in prospect.

The first important blow for retaining the present system of privately owned utilities was struck this week in the form of a statement issued by the Edison Electric Institute. The Institute is an association which represents 80 per cent of the electric power interests of the nation. The statement, released by Thomas N. McCarter, the organization's president, declares that two of the nation's keenest legal minds have found the government's TVA legislation "palpably unconstitutional." The two attorneys referred to are Newton D. Baker, secretary of war in Wilson's cabinet, and James M. Beck, former solicitor general of the United States and distinguished constitutional lawyer.

The Institute by inference accuses the administration of spending public money to destroy existing investments of private capital in utility companies. As long as the government operates private companies, the argument goes, it is spending



—Photo by Charles G. Mulligan
TO THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

New monument erected in Washington which will be formally dedicated next spring.

public funds to destroy the investments of private capital. It is on this ground that the Institute plans to appeal to the courts. Mr. McCarter asserts that the TVA and PWA are forcing private utilities to sell their property by threatening otherwise to give huge gifts or loans to communities so that they can build their own plants.

President Roosevelt has anticipated such opposition as the Institute offers. He took pains in a recent speech to denounce "obstructionists" who make every effort "to block and harass and to delay this great national program."

Charges Fascist Plot to March on Washington

A plot to overthrow the present government of the United States and to substitute a Fascist dictatorship was charged by Major General Smedley D. Butler, a retired officer of the Marine Corps. General Butler testified before a congressional committee, which is now investigating un-American activities, that a group of Wall Street brokers had asked him to head an army of 500,000 men. This Fascist force was to seize Washington and set up a dictatorship. The chief figures in the story told by Butler are Gerald C. MacGuire, a bond salesman who acted as agent, and Robert Sterling Clark, a broker.

Official Washington is not taking the affair seriously, but although many persons are inclined to scoff at the general's story as a "publicity stunt," it is pointed out that Butler did not come forward with the story until he was asked. The committee disclosed that it had heard the story from other sources and had then ordered Butler to appear and testify. Since two of the important figures mentioned in the case are now abroad, the committee cannot conclude its investigation at present. It declares, however, that some of the testimony so far heard tends to support Butler.



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SMEDLEY
BUTLER

The Governmental Record

The President: Arrived at Warm Springs, Georgia, where he will stay until December 5. . . . Received governors and other officials of five southeastern states. . . . Conferred with Rexford Guy Tugwell on the prospects for foreign trade expansion and legislation scheduled for the coming session of Congress. . . . Addressed a letter to the United States conference of mayors, pointing out that recovery is becoming evident and that the next Congress will consider extensive relief projects to continue the progress. . . . Ordered a Civil Service examination for postmaster in New York City. Selection of a first-class postmaster by the merit system is very rare, as it is generally considered a valuable appointment for political reasons.

State Department: Gave out a statement in praise of the stand taken by Great Britain in the London naval conversations and cordially reciprocating the statement of Prime Minister MacDonald that "the British government always attaches the highest value to close friendship between Great Britain and the United States." . . . Started preparation of notes to European countries reminding them of the amounts due December 15 on war-time debts to the United States.

National Emergency Council: Director Richberg asserted his belief that private industry would soon employ 4,000,000 men at present out of work. Stressed the need for industry's taking over the burden now resting on the government, and defended economic planning as being consistent with democracy.

National Industrial Recovery Board: Made known that it fully expects the National Recovery Act to undergo changes when the question of its renewal comes up before the coming session of Congress. Gave no intimation of the nature of the changes expected.

Federal Housing Administrator: James A. Moffett clashed with Secretary Ickes on the question of private initiative in the housing program. Mr. Moffett thinks that the government should undertake only such projects as private industry is incapable of handling. Ickes later denied that his own feeling in the matter differed from Moffett's, and expressed regret at what he considers a misinterpretation of his attitude on the part of the press.

Public Works Administration: Ordered a rigid inquiry into all public works projects in Louisiana before any more funds for non-federal work will be made to that state. This action is regarded as a direct blow at Huey Long.

Federal Emergency Relief Administration: Abandoned its policy of paying workers a minimum of 30 cents an hour. Henceforth a relief worker will receive pay at the hourly rate prevailing in the particular community in which his job is located.

Home Owners' Loan Corporation: Announced that it was working out a plan to relieve home owners to whom it was compelled to refuse direct aid because its funds were exhausted. Private institutions are being approached by the HOLC on behalf of these owners with the suggestion that some temporary aid be extended.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation: Dispatched to all its district managers a message urging them to give sympathetic consideration to applications for loans to industry. Up to now private businesses have received relatively little aid from the RFC. . . . Filed suit against former Vice-President Dawes and other stockholders of the Central Republic Trust Company, of Chicago, for \$14,000,000 of a loan made to that bank by the RFC.

Department of Commerce: Held a conference of officials connected with its Bureau of Navigation on steps to be taken in reorganizing the steamboat inspection service. The appointment of Captain George Fried as supervising steamboat inspector at New York is regarded as the first move in improving the service.



THE PRESIDENTIAL SMILE

Mr. Roosevelt is happy as, touring the South, he inspects the government's achievements in the Tennessee Valley.

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AROUND THE WORLD

Japan: Makoto Saito, Japanese admiral and former premier, in a recent series of articles for the *Christian Science Monitor*, condemns aggressive currents of opinion in the great nations of the world. It is absurd, he says, to spend \$40,000,000 for a single battleship when internal improvements are needed and masses of people are suffering hunger and poverty. The 1935 naval conference must succeed. "It would be the greatest step we have yet taken," predicts Admiral Saito, "if we could announce to the world that armaments will be reduced to a minimum and that each citizen in every nation, every taxpayer in the five countries involved, will be relieved of the crushing load of huge navies."

In spite of the idealism of the 76-year-old statesman, military and naval expenditures in all countries continue to mount. Japan's 1935 budget proposes an appropriation of \$306,000,000 for her army and navy. This is more than 46 per cent of her total annual expenditure. The proportion becomes more striking when it is compared to the eight and one half per cent for American armaments and the 26 per cent appropriated by France, though in each instance the actual amount is more than twice as great as Japan's. Such a heavy expenditure will work great hardship upon the Japanese people. City laborers are poorly paid and some of the rural communities are faced with famine. Estimates of the year's farm losses in Japan vary from \$150,000,000 to \$270,000,000, yet the new budget will allow only \$63,000,000 for relief work.

Since the new budget contemplates an expenditure of \$225,000,000 more than the expected revenue, the Japanese parliament will probably debate for long hours before it approves. In spite of difficulties, however, the government is resolved to be the naval equal of Great Britain and the United States. On November 25, Ambassador Matsudaira informed American Ambassador-at-large Davis that Japan proposed to abrogate the Washington Naval Treaty before the end of the year. This decision on the part of Japan, together with the need of some sort of naval agreement, has tended to reconcile Anglo-American differences on naval policy.

U. S. S. R.: Since there is only one political party in Russia, it is unlikely that seats in local soviets will be bitterly contested. But this year's elections are considered especially important in that some of the new officials will climb from state to state—local to district to provincial soviets. A select few will become members of the All-Union Congress of Soviets, the U. S. S. R.'s central legislature, rechosen by provincial soviets every five years. The franchise has been extended to new classes of Russians, including children of the kulaks. Members of the Communist party are busy arousing enthusiasm over the new election. Not only are they asking that more women take part in governmental affairs, they are even urging the election of more non-members of the Communist party.

Germany: The enterprising city of Hamburg has its own methods of relieving the unemployment problem. A city bank

began the program by contributing one of its old buildings to shelter the jobless. Other firms have donated books, furniture and financial assistance. Each day, 1,000 unemployed are served at a large kitchen where good meals, including meat, vegetables and potatoes can be bought for a dime. Epicures demanding dessert must pay three cents extra. In order to train men for new openings that might arise, workrooms have been provided where they may learn to be carpenters, painters or

World Court, which bases its decision on law, and arbitral tribunals, which attempt to adjust claims on a basis of expediency.

When the League Assembly opened, Russia's Litvinoff was the only foreign minister present. Five other foreign ministers who had come to Geneva for the Chaco discussions were busy mulling over European affairs. Jevtic of Yugoslavia called the attention of the League to terrorist activities in Hungary. The Yugoslavian note practically accused Hungary of complicity in the assassination of Alexander. Pierre Laval of France advised Jevtic to be discreet, and persuaded him to postpone submitting evidence against Hungary until the January meeting of the League Council. Hungary received the Yugoslav accusations with great indignation. She asks that there be no delay and that the matter be put before the Council as quickly as possible. Italy and Austria are behind Hungary, while Yugoslavia is backed by Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Thus far Laval has been pouring

oil on rough water. Not only has he gained time needed to soothe Yugoslavian and Hungarian passions, but he has calmed Germany by announcing that France will not press for a second Saar plebiscite to take place after the Hitler régime.

While Assembly statesmen debated questions of today, the steering committee of the disarmament conference met to consider the arms licensing pact proposed by the United States. The principal feature of the plan is the requirement that all private importers and exporters of arms and munitions carry government licenses. A permanent disarmament commission would be appointed to conduct inquiries at the behest of signatory states. At the request of Great Britain, the United States has agreed to incorporate a clause providing

electricians. Unemployed teachers offer instruction in languages and stenography. Twenty typewriters have been provided for those who wish to learn typing. A choir and an orchestra have been formed, while those who have no musical talent have been given a reading room in which they may profitably pass their hours of enforced leisure.

Geneva: Statesmen attending the special session of the League Assembly to solve the Chaco dispute are worrying over international questions that many of them regard as more important than South American boundary disputes. The Chaco problem itself is comparatively easy. The recommendations of the Chaco committee, as accepted by the Assembly, provide for a truce between Bolivia and Paraguay. They are to demobilize their armies and send delegates to a peace conference at Buenos Aires. A neutral supervisory commission, consisting of delegates of Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, and perhaps Brazil and the United States, is to superintend all arrangements. If no friendly agreement is reached after two months of negotiating, the World Court at The Hague will be called upon to draw the Bolivian-Paraguayan boundary, after considering the justness of the rival claims. It should be noted, however, that definite boundaries have never been established through the Chaco grasslands, and it may be difficult to evaluate the legal claims of the two countries. In case the World Court settlement proves unsatisfactory, a neutral arbitration commission will be appointed to draw a boundary on a basis of compromise. This is an excellent example of the difference between the

for publicity with regard to governmental armament expenditures.

France: The rearmament of Germany in violation of the provisions of the Versailles peace treaty has caused France to plan an even more elaborate system of defense than she already has. Leon

Archimbaud, on behalf of the war committee, has asked the Chamber of Deputies for an appropriation of \$816,000,000 for 1935. France seems convinced that Germany plans an attack upon her in the near future. She believes the first move will be a sudden air attack by a huge fleet of bombers. Meanwhile, a few divisions of quick-moving troops will raid France through Switzerland and Belgium, and behind them will come the mass of the German army. M. Archimbaud estimates that Germany could put 5,500,000 men in the field at once; General Denain of the French air force asserts that Hitler will have 1,000 planes at his disposal by the end of the year. Activity in the chemical and steel laboratories of the Reich is regarded as an indication that new and more deadly weapons of warfare are being invented.

To many American observers such fears seem fantastic, but after 16 years of peace, Parisians still look at the eastern sky, half expecting to see German airplanes. The French government is determined that France shall not be unprepared. A situation is arising somewhat like that in the early part of the present century, when both France and the German empire were building strong military machines. At that time France and czarist Russia formed a defensive alliance. There is strong reason to believe that another defensive pact exists between France and Soviet Russia. At any rate, in his speech of November 24, Archimbaud told the Chamber of Deputies that if Germany attacked France, the U. S. S. R. would come to the rescue. The French government views Archimbaud's revelation as indiscreet. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs protests that it is true only in a general sense, and that no formal alliance has been agreed upon.

Great Britain: The principal task of the present session of the British parliament will be its analysis of the new Indian constitution, just completed by a joint parliamentary committee which spent 18 months studying the problem. India came under British control in the days when Englishmen prided themselves on the size of their empire. It happened before the industrial revolution made

England's textile factories among the largest in the world. Today, Great Britain is less eager for a glorious empire, but she does want to sell her cloth. It happens that India buys more of her cotton goods than any other country, and though Britain is quite willing to give Indian nationalists a degree of self-government (but not as much as they want), she insists that the Indian cotton market be safeguarded. For that reason, there is a provision in the new constitution empowering the viceroy, who is the king's representative in India, to forbid India's adopting

any tariffs he thinks may be designed to injure Great Britain. Undoubtedly there will be more controversy over this clause than any other.

It is believed that the Indian question will occupy most of the parliament's time between now and the end of the session. With opinion divided, an election may be necessary to resolve the issue.



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SOVIET TANKS

The recent anniversary of the Russian revolution was occasion for a display of the efficient Soviet fighting machine.



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SAARBRÜCKEN
The principal city in the Saar territory, which, in the face of the January plebiscite, has become Europe's number one danger zone.



As the Editor Sees It

Weekly Reflections on Events, Trends and Movements

By Walter E. Myer

UNLESS something happens to change our plans during the next week, the two main articles in the December 10 issue will be the Business Situation in the United States, and India's Relation to the British Empire. It is hard to analyze business conditions and to determine whether or not we are definitely on the road to recovery. Many factors are involved, and each of them is complex. No individual comes into contact with more than a fragment of American industry in his own dealings. Evidence from the outside is confused and often contradictory. Hard as it is, however, to determine the way things are going, we cannot avoid the effort to discover economic trends, because we are all so vitally affected. Next week, therefore, we will do our best to present evidence and to evaluate opinions relative to the present and immediate future of the recovery drive. Those who wish to make some study of this problem in advance, may find the following references useful:

"Coming Boom, or More Bunk?" *Review of Reviews*, October, 1934, p. 52. "Business Men Are Bewildered," by J. L. Spivak. *American Mercury*, September, 1934, p. 69. "Out of the Red," by T. R. Ybarra. *Collier's*, June 23, 1934, p. 10. "Progress of the United States in the Direction of Recovery," by J. M. Keynes. *Living Age*, August, 1934, p. 556. "United States and World Recovery," by M. S. Stewart. *Nation*, September 19, 1934, p. 316. "How Stable Is Recovery?" by M. S. Stewart. *Nation*, September 12, 1934, p. 291. "Light and Shadow in the Business Portrait," *Review of Reviews*, November, 1934, p. 56. "British Recovery, and American," *Business Week*, October 27, 1934, p. 22.

THE Indian problem is by no means a new one, but interest in it has revived since the British parliament came into session. The parliament will spend a great deal of its time this winter trying to work out a solution as to India's place in the empire. A constitution has already been prepared and submitted for consideration. You may consult these references on India:

"Prison Letters to India," by Jawaharlal Nehru. A series of four articles in *Asia*, September to December, 1934. In these letters of the Indian Nationalist leader to his daughter, the problems of Anglo-Indian relationships are studied from a historical point of view. "Problem of India's Poverty," by F. M. DeMello. *Current History*, February, 1934, pp. 548-554. A very good short description of the Indian problem. "Ways of India," by J. Campbell. *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1930, pp. 464-472. A description of the Indian people and their customs. "Progress of Constitutional Reform in India," by the Marquess of Reading. *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1933, pp. 609-620. A British view. "Toward Indian Home Rule," by J. Rawdon. *Current History*, August, 1934, pp. 600-601. A short commentary on present political viewpoints in India. "Politics in India," by R. Thompson. *Current History*, October, 1934, pp. 98-99. A brief discussion of Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. "Labor Militancy Spreads in India," by V. K. K. Menon. *Nation*, September 12, 1934, pp. 293-294. "New Crisis in India," by S. K. Ratcliffe. *Asia*, October, 1934, p. 583.



A SOCK IN THE JAW

—Herblock in Winfield Daily Courier

I HOPE that many of the readers of this paper have the habit, or will acquire the habit, of reading current magazines rather extensively. One can gain a fairly liberal education on social, economic and political matters by reading consistently such periodicals as *Current History*, *Harper's*, *Forum*, *Nation*, *New Outlook*, *New Republic*, *Review of Reviews*, *Scribner's*, *Survey* and *Today*. This list, of course, is not exhaustive. I have made no effort to include all the excellent periodicals available to American readers. It is almost impossible to emphasize sufficiently how much a wide reading of the magazines will do to broaden one's horizon, to add to his cultural equipment, and to supply him with data on the important problems of American life.

One should not confine his reading to the current magazines. He should get into the habit of running down periodical references on some of the larger public problems in which he may have an interest. When, for example, you have read an article in *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*, you have become familiar, I hope, with the essential outlines of the problem. You know something of what the issues are relating to it. But you have not seen a comprehensive picture of the whole problem, for our space is necessarily limited. It means a great deal, I think, to have the essence of the various controversies pointed out to you as they are pointed out in *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*. But our short articles leave gaps unfilled. And if you are to become anything like an authority on the problems under consideration, you must do more extensive reading.

In order that you may find the best material on the subjects in which you have an interest, it is necessary that you should make frequent use of the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*. This *Guide*, which lists many of the important articles appearing in the periodical press of America and Great Britain, is our best index to magazine articles. The *Guide* should be in every library. If it is not in yours, you should insist that it be placed there. It seems to me that no student should go through high school, to say nothing of college, without having made frequent use of this most valuable index.

I HOPE that due attention is being given each week to the material which we present on page 5. We feel that it is important not only to study events, but to know something of the men and women who are the architects of these events. Let us remember that events are not wholly impersonal. The things that happen and that become items of current interest are the work of human beings. They are the product of human planning and ambition. They cannot be understood if the human side is ignored. We feel it desirable, therefore, to picture the course of affairs as a great procession of humanity, and we feel that the direction of this procession can be understood if we give some attention to the leaders who are responsible for the things that happen.

It would be a mistake to assume that current events consist of political, economic and social happenings exclusively. Ideas have a place in the great procession. The publication of a book may be the most important event of the week or month or year. Ideas, as well as external acts, have a place, and an important place, in the study of history. No student of contemporary life should ignore the literary events of his time. He should be familiar with books and authors. He should include fiction in his reading, because the best fiction portrays life realistically. We come to know about human life and its problems by observation and reading. Our own observations are meager and inadequate, however broad our experiences may be. We may use books, and especially fiction, to supplement the scattered bits of experience which we have had. Thus alone may we become competent students of human nature and skillful interpreters of social developments.

Life on the farm can't be so dull after all. There's always the chance nowadays that some stratosphere gondola will plunk down on the old corn crib.

—Worcester EVENING GAZETTE

The welcome given to "Babe" Ruth in Japan shows who ought to have been sent to that naval conference in London.

—New York SUN

Some one is offering for \$5 a book on "How to Live Without Money." He doesn't say what he wants with the \$5.

—Washington POST

They say Herr Hitler is having trouble with his teeth, which is probably the serious effect of biting off more than he can chew.

—Worcester EVENING GAZETTE

The motor cycle is 50 years old this year. And, judging from the racket, it is still going strong.

—Lowell EVENING LEADER



THAT NEW WHITE HOUSE CHINA

—Talbot in Washington News

Something to Think About

1. How many employees of the federal government are there in your town, city or county? Did they get their places by examination or by political appointment?
2. What are the arguments for and against extending the classified list of government offices?
3. To what extent, if at all, are you and other ordinary citizens to blame for the evils of the spoils system?
4. Do you consider the British civil service superior to the American?
5. How, chiefly, has the development of British constitutional history differed from the American?
6. Why is the kingly ceremony featuring the opening of parliament not illogical in spite of Britain's strongly entrenched democracy?
7. Do you think the British system of government has any points of superiority to the American? Give reasons.
8. Explain what is meant by the statement: "We are in a sense an empire, a federation of sections, a union of potential nations."
9. What charge was made against Samuel Insull? What moral does the *New York Herald-Tribune* draw from the case?

REFERENCES: (a) Britain Muddles Through. *Current History*, March, 1934, pp. 641-648. (b) English Miscellany. *The New Republic*, August 8, 1934, pp. 341-343. (c) National Government: Half Way. *Fortnightly*, May, 1934, pp. 536-546. (d) Toward a New U. S. Civil Service. *Fortune*, November, 1934, pp. 76-77. (e) Politics and Civil Service. *Annals of the American Academy*, September, 1933, pp. 86-90. (f) Roosevelt and His Spoilsman. *Current History*, October, 1934, pp. 17-23.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Jevtic (yave'teech), Saito (si'to—i as in ice, o as in go), Matsudaira (mat-soo-di'ra—i as in ice), Hamburg (hahm'boorg), Delhi (del'hee), Buenos Aires (bwa'-nos i'ras—both a's as in ate, i as in ice, o as in or), Denain (de-nan'—e as in yet, a as in can), Archimbaud (ar-sham-bo').

Since the World War the mental age of Americans has risen from 12 to 17 years.—Statistic. Some one should tell this to the magazine ad writers.

—Washington POST

Workmen are rearranging the seats in the Senate chamber to accord with the returns of the last election. They are putting the Republicans' chairs in the telephone booth.

—Chicago TRIBUNE

No clever real estate man would look twice at Europe. It isn't worth the back taxes.

—Boston GLOBE

Business is certain to resume, but not in all cases with the same names over the door.

—Washington STAR

The question occurs, What will Japan's pocket battleships do to its pockets?

—San Antonio EXPRESS

THE AMERICAN OBSERVER

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

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Japanese Peace Advocate—We often speak glibly of what the Japanese think or of how some other people feel, assuming that everyone in a foreign nation feels and thinks the same way. We have heard lately from the big-navy advocates of Japan at the London Naval



© Rengo
MAKOTO
SAITO

Conference, and so we speak of Japanese militarism and jingoism. But the armament party, the militaristic party, though at present in control of Japanese governmental policy, does not represent all the people of Japan. This fact was emphasized by a recent statement of Viscount Admiral Makoto Saito, a very prominent Japanese statesman and former premier, who criticized the policy of his government, called for a reduction of naval armaments, and condemned the war makers and propagandists of all lands who stir their people up to demand greater armies and navies.

Viscount Saito has been connected with the Japanese navy for nearly 60 years. He has held offices in it since its earliest days. He has been minister of the navy in three successive cabinets. He was head of the Japanese delegation at the Naval Armament Conference in London in 1927. For 10 years he was governor general of Korea, and he was prime minister of Japan from May 26, 1932, until July 4, 1934. He knows the navy and navy problems, and yet he scoffs at the idea that Japan should engage in a naval race. He thinks that this would bankrupt the Japanese people. He speaks feelingly of the poor farmers of Japan, the backbone of the nation, who have trouble eking out an existence on small patches of ground, and who cannot stand the burden of additional taxes.

Makoto Saito is not related to Hiroshi Saito, Japanese ambassador to the United States.

John R. McCarl—As comptroller general of the United States, John R. McCarl exercises tremendous power. Acts of Congress appropriating money are frequently so general that a difference of opinion may arise as to whether or not some specific expenditure has been authorized. In case of doubt, the decision is made by the comptroller general. He decides whether an



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J. R. McCARL

expense claim shall be allowed, and a host of other questions. It was he who decided some time ago that the expenditure of relief money for the planting of trees in the western drought area had not been authorized. There are so many expenditures which are at least doubtful, and which he can veto, that his position is one of the most important in the government. The comptroller general is appointed for a period of 15 years.

This office was created during the term of President Harding, and he appointed as comptroller, John Raymond McCarl. McCarl was born in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1879. He practiced law in Nebraska, and for a time was secretary to Senator Norris. In politics he is a Republican. Mr. McCarl is unemotional, impersonal and judicial in manner. In appearance he is calm and reserved. He was appointed in 1921, and his term will expire in two years.

Radical Leader—Floyd Olson was recently elected governor of Minnesota for the third time, though he is but 43 years old. He is assuming a leadership of moderate radicalism. He declares that the country has gone further to the left than President Roosevelt has. He warns the Roosevelt administration not to compromise too much with the big business interests. He says that if the administration is too conservative, a new party will develop. Governor Olson was elected on the Farmer-Labor ticket, which demands the fixing of farm prices by the government, and public ownership of key industries.

William E. Borah—Senator Borah of Idaho came prominently into the news recently through his attack upon the distribution of Federal Relief funds. He declares that there has been a tremendous waste in the distribution of aid to the needy. He does not blame Relief Administrator Hopkins personally, but he says drastic action should be taken to stop the leaks.

Senator Borah is 69 years old and is the dean of the Senate in point of service, having been a member of that body since 1907. He is an independent Republican—so independent that he does not act consistently with any group. He is not a leader of any movement because he does not cooperate. He plays a lone hand. He attacks policies of any or all parties fearlessly. But when election time comes, he has always lined up with the regular Republican candidate.

Mr. Borah is a determined advocate of world peace and disarmament. He was influential in bringing about the naval discussions which are being carried on now between the United States and other leading naval powers. He is a specialist in foreign affairs, and, previous to the loss of power by his party in the Senate, he was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

A Liberal Editor—Oswald Garrison Villard, owner and contributing editor of the *Nation*, attracted attention last week with a strong editorial on the president's post-election position. He says that Mr. Roosevelt's position is now secure; that he is sure of reelection, and does not have to play politics. He says that, "It is in his hands to shape the development of the country for at least 50 years. . . . He has it in his power to write his name in far larger letters in American history than those of any other peace-time president." The president is called upon to tackle the problems of

social reform and reform of the civil service.

Mr. Villard was born in Germany in 1872. He is the grandson of the famous abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison. Like his grandfather, he is an advanced liberal, tending sometimes toward radicalism. At one time, Mr. Villard was the owner of the *New York Evening Post*, which he sold a number of years ago. For a long time he has been the editor and owner of the *Nation*, one of the leading liberal periodicals of the country. He gave up active control of the magazine two years ago, but he has continued to contribute weekly editorials. He is always to be found fighting for the poor and oppressed of all nations. He has long argued for economic and social reforms designed to bring about a better society.



© Acme
WILLIAM E.
BORAH

We Recommend—

The Great Design. By fourteen eminent scientists. Edited by Frances Mason, with an introduction by Sir J. Arthur Thomson. New York: Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

We have here in this book the answers of competent scientists to questions which arise in the minds of all thoughtful and conscientious high school and college students who have studied science and history and sociology. These students, restlessly ambitious as the best of them are, want to go beyond the scientific facts they have learned, and ask the meaning of it all. They want to know whether there is chaos or purpose in the universe. Their scientific books too often fail even to attempt an answer. "The Great Design," the subtitle of which is "Order and Intelligence in Nature," begins where the science texts usually end. The contributors consider evidences of purpose and design as these indications appear in the psychological, the chemical, the botanical and the astronomical realms. To the student of an inquiring mind, this book will prove both exciting and satisfying.

Little Orvie. By Booth Tarkington. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

Little Orvie is the modern Penrod. He lives in a small city in the Middle West with his parents, grandparents, surrounded by aunts, uncles and cousins. The incidents are commonplace but the telling of them is remarkably humorous. This is probably the funniest and certainly one of the best of Tarkington's books.

Red Heifer. F. D. Davison. New York: Coward-McCann. \$2.

The chief character in this book is a cow which breaks away from its herd and becomes the leader of the wild cattle on the Australian plains. Thereafter its life is a struggle to keep alive and avoid being captured by man. Mr.



Davison has worked on cattle ranges himself, and believes that animals have more individual character than we realize. "Red Heifer" is a book which animal lovers will thoroughly enjoy.

My Own Story. By Marie Dressler, as told to Mildred Harrington with a foreword by Will Rogers. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. \$2.00.

The life story of America's beloved actress of stage and screen. Told with humor and an easy, genuine philosophy. Full of anecdotes about people of the theater. Not a major book, of course, but an exceptionally readable and entertaining one.

Fascism in Italy having entered its thirteenth year, it behooves Il Duce to take care of himself and rap occasionally on the wooden frame of his painting of Napoleon.

—Portland OREGONIAN

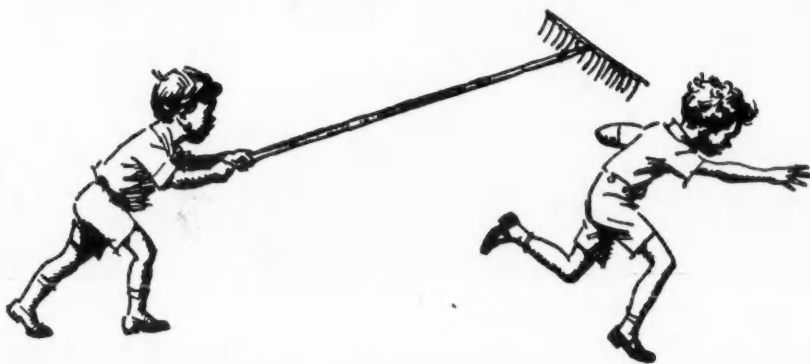
POLITICAL PATRONAGE UNDER THE NEW DEAL

(Concluded from page 7, column 4)

army of responsible officials was needed for the emergency, the government called in business men—dollar-a-year men. When the depression came and another army of responsible men was needed for new positions, the government went chiefly to the faculties of universities and brought in men who collectively came to be termed "the brain trust." In neither of these cases were the men specifically trained by study and long practice for the administrative duties they had to perform.

It will be hard to develop in America a trained and permanent body of civil servants. There is always the danger that a permanent staff of responsible officials may be out of touch with the interests and demands of the common people; that we may come to have government by bureaucracy rather than democracy. The tradition of the American people is against that sort of thing.

At the same time, the needs of these trying days call for specialization of government service. The future will call more imperatively than the past has done for efficiency and ability among government employees. The government is entering new fields. It is assuming new burdens, and taking part in new activities. In a way unknown to the past, it is guiding the destinies of the people. To do this work effectively or even acceptably, it must have at its command a trained and able personnel. How this personnel of competent administrators may be brought continuously into the service of the government, stands today as one of our most pressing and most difficult problems.



ILLUSTRATIONS BY GEORGE BREHM FOR "LITTLE ORVIE"

The Mother of Parliaments Convenes

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

But why has the king remained such an essential figure in Britain where democracy has been deeply rooted for so many years? Why has he not been completely discarded as a symbol of autocracy, of absolutism, the way kings have been in other countries which have turned to democracy? The answer is that democracy did not arrive in England by a single revolutionary overturn as it did elsewhere. No formal constitution has ever been drawn up in England and proclaimed as a new charter of the people's liberties. England has not progressed by such violent eruptions.

Rights Slowly Won

The British people, on the contrary, have won their right to self-government by a slow yielding on the part of kings of their exercises of royal power. Each step brought to the people more management of their own affairs and gave the king less influence than he had before. But through it all the king retained his importance as a royal personage. He was always the king and the people were always his subjects. Even when they opposed him they did so with deference. And, therefore, the king has remained as an essential part of England's government. By now he has given up virtually all power but he is still necessary because *theoretically* he is the source of power.

The word "theoretically" is stressed because in actuality, of course, the people govern themselves. In early times, even before the Norman, William the Conqueror, crossed the channel and established his conquest of England, the Saxon kings had found it convenient to consult the more influential members of their realm, a "great council of wise men." These were not in any sense the chosen representatives of the people; nor was the king obliged to act in accordance with their wishes, but still, the idea took early root in England that the king should take counsel and not follow entirely his own whims and fancies. At the same time there was an early development of local self-government in townships which, in turn, were grouped into districts. The English people were accustomed to manage their immediate local affairs long before they began to be influential in national matters.

These practices persisted after the Norman conquest (1066). And then, in 1215, came *Magna Carta*. At Runnymede, not far from London, King John was forced by a number of barons to swear that he would observe certain rights of his subjects, rights which were carefully written out. This great concession was followed

by others in later periods of history and gradually power passed from the hands of the king to those of the people.

But it did not at first pass into the hands of the common people. Before them came the barons, the nobility. After *Magna Carta* the meetings of the king's council became more frequent. Nobles, bishops and abbots were summoned to approve important governmental projects. They came to *parley* with the king and the term *parliament* began to be applied. The first

took place a long struggle between the two houses lasting until 1911 when the House of Commons emerged as the real power in England.

House of Lords

The House of Lords no longer plays such an important part in the government of England, but like the king, it is still kept in the general structure. There are about 700 members in the House of Lords. These are the peers, the men who belong to the

and there is no supreme court in England to declare laws unconstitutional. The House of Commons, elected usually for five years, can even prolong its tenure of office if it sees fit. This it actually did during the war.

However, while power is exercised by the House of Commons the executive authority, and to a large extent the legislative authority, lies with the cabinet of ministers. It is singular that there was never a document creating the cabinet. It became established by evolution as a practical necessity. The cabinet consists of about 20 ministers and is headed by the prime minister, who is the most powerful single personage in England. Under the direction of the prime minister the government is run. Much of the legislation is passed at the instance of the cabinet and ministers attend sessions of the House of Commons and argue for their particular bills.

Cabinet Responsibility

But they also must answer to the House. A cabinet must at all times have the support of the Commons or it cannot continue in office. It must also be united, the ministers must stand together, or the cabinet falls. But when a cabinet is voted down, or when it decides to resign for some other reason, the prime minister has the right, if he wishes, to advise the crown to call new elections. Thus, the House of Commons may at any time be dissolved. The prime minister has the right to appeal to the people if he does not receive support. This is what happened in 1931. The prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, in the face of an approaching financial crisis, decided that new economies and new taxes were necessary to save the country. But his Labor cabinet did not stand beside him on the question, whereupon MacDonald dissolved parliament and called new elections. He asked support for a National Government composed of members of the three regular parties—Conservative, Labor and Liberal. He was successful and remained at the head of the government, although the Labor party afterward ousted him as its leader and has since become his chief opposition. But this illustrates what a prime minister can do in England. He has large powers and at times can push his plans through in spite of the House of Commons. The people, however, always have the last word. Democracy of the most genuine kind holds sway in England and the people, while they put up with and even enjoy their kings and lords, cling tenaciously to the rights they have won over hundreds of years.



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

© Martin

rights to exercise power, therefore, were wrung from the king by the nobles.

It was not long, however, before the common people were brought into the picture. When parliament convened in 1265 a new class of members was brought in. In addition to the nobles two knights from each county and two citizens from each of the more important towns were called in to take part in the discussions. Here we have the beginnings of real representative government.

The Common People

These commoners were not brought in because there was any wish to give them a voice in government. It so happened that the king needed money and the townspeople were becoming rich. It was easier to obtain money by consent—even if a forced consent—than by outright force. In fact, to be summoned to parliament in those days was considered quite a burden and many sought to escape it.

Such were the early beginnings of representative government in England. In course of time parliament was divided into a House of Lords and a House of Commons. And all the while continued the slow process of winning new concessions from the kings. But the concessions did not all remain with the lords. The commoners became more and more powerful and there

nobility. Each nobleman is entitled to a seat in the House of Lords. That body has never been a representative body in the sense of being chosen by the people. Members keep their seats for life. If a title is hereditary each new holder is given a seat in the House of Lords. And as soon as an Englishman is made a peer (by action of the House of Commons) he immediately becomes a member of the House of Lords.

But all the peers do not care to take their seats in the House of Lords and only do so on state occasions such as the opening of parliament. There are only a hundred or so who take active interest in the chamber's doings. These are usually men who have been in public life, who were formerly in the House of Commons or who held important positions in various parts of the empire. They cannot, however, interfere permanently with the House of Commons. They have nothing to do with bills concerning the raising and spending of money. Other bills can only be delayed two years at the utmost. There is very little power left to the House of Lords at the present time.

It is the House of Commons, with its 615 members, which governs England. The members of the House are elected directly by the people. Their decisions are final. The king accepts them without question



THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

© Wide World

This part of the ceremony, in which the king and queen proceed from Buckingham Palace to parliament in a horse-drawn coach, was omitted this year, for the first time in British history, owing to a dense fog which imperiled the health of the royal family.

Political Patronage Under the New Deal

(Continued from page 1, column 4)

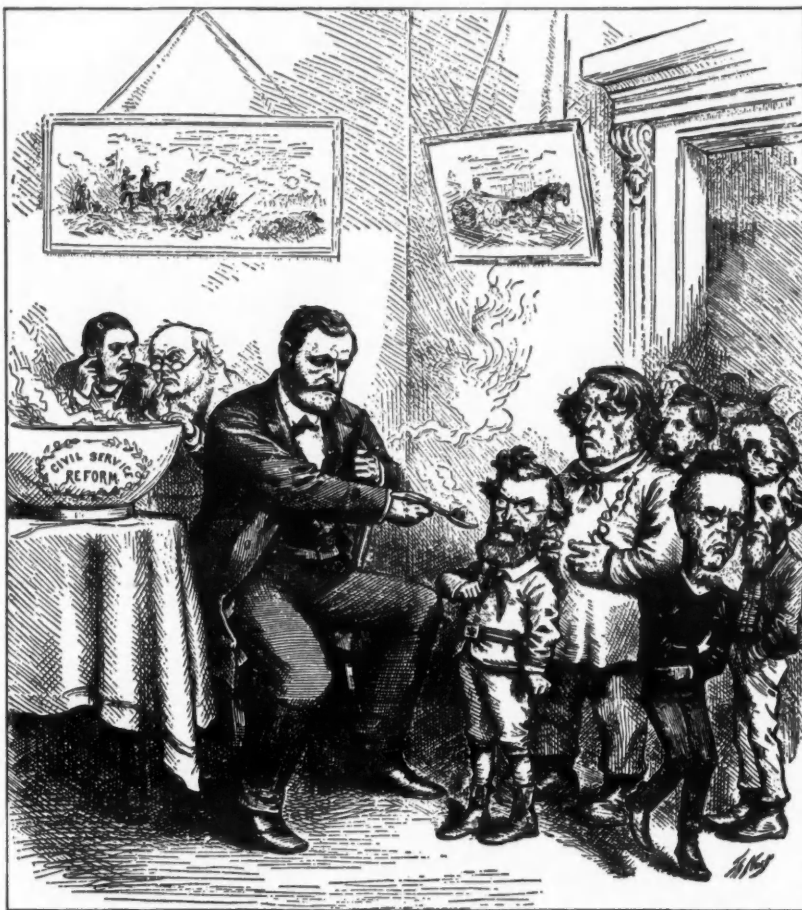
The people would be more likely to get what they wanted if ordinary citizens were placed in appointed positions. When the voters of the nation placed a new party in power, it was right and it was democratic for the party which had been entrusted with authority to have full power. All the offices from the highest to the lowest should be filled by members of that party. Thus alone would the will of the people come to prevail. This meant, of course, that all positions in the government should be partisan in character.

For half a century during the middle period of our history, the spoils system prevailed. When a new administration came in, there was a mad scramble for office. New appointments were made from the cabinet down to the humblest clerkship. During these years a man was appointed to office, not because of his proven ability, but because he had rendered a service to the party in power, or because his appointment might make friends for the party. After a while there developed a demand for a change of that system—a demand for what was called "civil service reform." It was said that government employees selected for political reasons were likely to be inefficient. They should be appointed because of merit. Politics should not figure in the appointments except in the case of responsible officials who had something to do with decisions on matters of policy.

Civil Service Reform

The civil service reform advocates gained a great victory with the enactment of the Civil Service Law, in 1883. A Civil Service Commission was created with power to devise and conduct examinations which were to be given to those who wished to hold federal offices. There was to be a classification of all the federal offices, and some of these offices were to be filled by those who had passed the best examinations regardless of politics. Offices coming under this head were said to be on the "classified list."

At first not many were on the classified list. Most of the offices were still filled by political appointments. But adminis-



—FROM HARPER'S WEEKLY
A CARTOON OF THE TIME OF GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION ILLUSTRATING THE MOVEMENT FOR CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Department, the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, Interior, and the Veterans' Administration. The other 18 per cent are divided among the other government departments and bureaus.

Of these 661,000 federal employees, about 461,000 secure their jobs by passing civil service examinations. Among those who are outside the merit system; that is, who are appointed without examinations and whose appointments are usually political in nature, are certain classes of postmasters, collectors of internal revenue, most attorneys of all kinds in departmental service, certain classes of secretaries, and a number of high officials, numbering altogether about 130,000. In addition to the 130,000 in the regular government departments and bureaus who are not under the examination or merit system, there are about 70,000 in the so-called New Deal agencies, or the organizations which have been created to combat the depression. These 70,000 are not on the classified list. Appointments in these new agencies are, for the most part, political.

Emergency Bureaus

There is not much controversy at this time about the 130,000 in the regular government departments, who are not under civil service, or rather are not on the classified list. Many people believe that a large part of those who are not now under the merit system should be placed there. The tendency is to move in that direction by adding one class of employees after another to the classified lists. But it is the New Deal agencies concerning which there has been the most criticism. These agencies have been created in a hurry, and it has been necessary very quickly to fill them with thousands of new employees. In many cases it has perhaps been almost impossible to arrange for examinations of candidates for positions. At least it is by no means remarkable that these suddenly created agencies should have been left, for the time at least, outside the classified list.

There has been no uniform rule for appointments to positions in these New Deal agencies. Some of them have been quite free from political influences. The Tennessee Valley Authority has paid no atten-

tion whatever to the politics of applicants for jobs. It has made out examinations of its own, and has given these examinations to thousands of candidates for positions. Recommendations made by senators or representatives or other influential members of the government have counted for nothing in the selection of a personnel for the TVA.

Spoils System in Practice

But the experience of the TVA is exceptional. Most of the newly created positions are filled according to the practices of what has been called the "spoils system." If, for example, one wishes to secure an appointment to a job in the NRA or the AAA, he will probably be required to get the endorsement of the chairman of the Democratic county committee of his own county. He may be called upon to furnish endorsements from other politicians. It frequently happens that no questions at all are asked about his fitness for the position for which he applies. Recommendations from former employers are not considered. The appointments are purely political. If one chances to get an appointment without the proper political endorsements he is likely, however satisfactory his work may be, to be called upon to get the "proper" recommendations or lose his job. Nor is that all. He is very likely to be called upon to pay a contribution to the Democratic campaign fund. He is not commanded in so many words to make the payment, but he is politely reminded if he has not paid. And employees usually feel that it would be very risky to ignore this courteous reminder.

The chief exponent of this sort of patronage system is Postmaster General James Farley. His influence extends beyond his own department. Men who are closely associated with him, his "key men," are to be found in many of the departments and bureaus supervising appointments to office.

This is not a new thing in American history by any means. We have had plenty of political patronage during each of the recent administrations. Such practices are common in appointments to positions which are not in the classified lists. The Roosevelt administration differs from the others

chiefly in the fact that a host of new jobs have recently been created to deal with the depression, and these new jobs, some of them temporary in nature and others possibly permanent, have not yet been brought under the merit system. That is the explanation, and perhaps the sole explanation, for the scandal which has developed with respect to partisan appointments under the present administration.

Merit System Extensions

This question may be asked: Should the classified list be extended so that the emergency administrations and bureaus may be brought within the merit system, and so that a good many of the positions in the regular departments, not now filled through examination, shall be taken out of the political class and put under the merit plan? The arguments in favor of such a development are clear enough. We have already referred to them. An argument on the other side is that one who holds a non-political job comes to feel that his place is permanent. He is not supposed to be removed unless there is cause for his removal. Sometimes it is difficult for those in charge to find adequate cause. Hence many inefficient government employees, protected as they are by civil service rules, hold on year after year. This argument has considerable weight. There are today in Washington officials who are doing without clerical help which they really need. And the reason they give is that they have almost no hope of securing efficient help from candidates taken from the civil service lists. They are willing to go without assistance rather than endure the inefficiency which is so common in government offices.

Now we come to an important and difficult problem. Can we develop a plan in America by which a trained personnel may be available for the filling of responsible government positions? Great Britain has such a plan. The British are proud of their civil service. Young men undergo courses of training in order that they may enter the government service as a career. They go through universities with that idea in mind. They are protected by permanence



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HARRY B. MITCHELL

tration after administration added to the list of offices which were to be governed by the merit system until today, 80 per cent of regular government employees, not counting those employed by the New Deal agencies, are under the merit system. If we except the army and navy and the employees of the District of Columbia, there are at present about 661,000 government employees. Forty per cent of them work for the Post Office Department as carriers, railway mail clerks and so on. About 42 per cent are employed by the Treasury Department, the civilian staff of the War Department, the Navy



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JAMES A. FARLEY

of tenure. There is opportunity for the efficient to advance. In time of crisis, therefore, the British government can call upon efficient men whose life training has fitted them for responsible positions.

Problem for the Future

In America what do we do when we want responsible men for important positions? Leonard D. White of the United States Civil Service Commission, of which Harry B. Mitchell is chairman, answers the question in the November number of *Fortune*. During the World War, when an

(Concluded on page 5, column 3)



PERHAPS the outstanding development in American history during the period immediately following the War of 1812 was the growing struggle between sectional and national interests. Roughly between the years 1816

Rise of sectional interests following War of 1812

and 1829 this was the paramount issue in American politics. And it was only natural that it should be, for conditions were such as to make a clash between the interests of the nation as a whole and those of the particular sections of the country inevitable. During the war with England, sectional interests were forgotten and everyone concentrated his entire attention and energy upon protecting the national interest. But once the danger from a foreign foe was thrust off, the people as a whole had time once more to consider the interests of their geographical regions, and their representatives in Congress took up the battle with bitter determination.

In many respects, this struggle was but a continuation of the old battle between state and national rights; between the advocates of a strong central government and those of a weak national government. But it was fundamentally more important, for it involved large geographical units, composed of several states, each lined up against the other. It became so important, in fact, during the next few decades that it led to the greatest tragedy in our entire history—the Civil War. Nor has the dispute abated in our own day, for we find now abundant evidences of conflict between sectionalism and nationalism. But before proceeding further with our discussion of the influence of sectionalism in American history, it is well to explain exactly what we mean by the term.

ACCORDING to the definition of one historian, the term "section" as applied to American history and politics means "any one part of a national domain which is geographically and socially sufficiently unified to have a true consciousness of its own ideals and customs and to possess a sense of its distinction from other parts of the country." Thus we see that it must necessarily include groups

What is meant by the term "sectionalism"

of states having identical or almost identical interests. One section might be composed of the Rocky Mountain states whose principal industry is mining and whose prosperity will naturally be advanced by policies designed to promote the interests of mining. Another section might be composed of the cotton states of the South, and another of the agricultural belt of the Middle West, and another of the predominantly manufacturing states of the East.

These various sections might logically be regarded as separate nations, so divergent are their interests. As Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, who contributed more during his lifetime to an understanding of the influence of sections upon American history than any other student, wrote shortly before his death: "We have become a nation comparable to all Europe in area, with settled geographic provinces which equal great European nations. We are in this sense an empire, a federation of sections, a union of potential nations."

The focal point of these opposing sectional interests has always been the halls of Congress. Representatives of the different groups of states having identical interests have joined hands in

Significance of American Sectionalism

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

an attempt to push through legislation beneficial to their particular section. From the earliest days of our national history, there have been blocs of one kind or another. Thus we have had farm blocs and manufacturing blocs and mining blocs and shipping blocs, each one working for different sectional interests. And, on the really fundamental issues, party lines have broken down almost completely, giving way to sectional lines. The significance of these sectional interests throughout our history is admirably summed up by Professor Turner in his posthumous work, "The Significance of Sections in American History," in which he writes as follows:

A STUDY of votes in the federal House and Senate from the beginning of our national history reveals the fact that party voting has more often broken down than maintained itself on fundamental issues; that when these votes are mapped or tabulated by the congressional districts or states from which those who cast them came, instead of by alphabetical arrangement, a persistent sectional pattern emerges. There has been in the earlier periods the sharp clash between New England and the South,

with the Middle States divided and unstable, constituting a buffer zone and often holding the balance of power. Then, as population spread westward, the greater parties were composed of sectional wings. Normally, in the Republican party there came to be a fairly solid conservative New England, a mixed and uncertain Middle Region, and a more radical North Central wing, ready in the shaping of legislation to join the Democrats in a kind of sectional bloc (even before the days of the bloc) to oppose the conservative and dominant Eastern wing. As time went on, the East North Central States came into closer connection with the Eastern wing, and in the West North Central lay the areas of radical dissent and of third-party movements. Legislation was determined less by party than by sectional voting.

I think it not too much to say that in party conventions as well as in Congress the outcome of deliberations bears a striking resemblance to treaties between sections, suggestive of treaties between European nations in diplomatic congresses. But over an area equal to all Europe we found it possible to legislate, and we tempered asperities and avoided wars by a process of sectional give-and-take. Whether we shall continue to preserve our national, our intersectional, party organization in the sharper sectional conflicts of interests that are likely to accompany the settling down of population, and complete revelation of the influences of physical geography, remains to be seen.

We must frankly face the fact that in this vast and heterogeneous nation, this sister of all Europe, regional geography is a fundamental fact; that the American peace has been achieved by restraining sectional selfishness and assertiveness and by coming to agreements rather than to reciprocal denunciations or to blows.

THE really important issues which were debated in Congress during the post-War-of-1812 period all involved sectional versus national interests. On the most fundamental of these, the protective tariff, the North and the South, the only two sections that really counted in those days, were at loggerheads. The South knew that it had nothing to gain from a high tariff, for it was obliged to sell the bulk of its cotton abroad and a tariff on imports could not help it get a higher price. On the other

hand, it meant that the South would have to pay more for the manufactured goods which it had to buy, whether they came from the North or from abroad.

UNTIL the Jackson landslide of 1828 the nationalists were eminently successful in inaugurating their policies. They had practically no political opposition in the presidential contests. But more important still they had an ardent supporter of their policies in the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Most of John Marshall's decisions were against the sectional interests and in favor of the national interests.

Nationalists helped by decisions of Supreme Court

He declared acts of state legislatures unconstitutional and upheld Congress when it passed laws not clearly within its rights under the Constitution. To the sectionalists, this was a bad omen, for it meant that Congress might continue to increase its power and enact laws detrimental to their interests. Particularly alarmed were the southerners when they thought of what Congress and the Supreme Court might do with slavery, if these branches of the government were dominated by men opposed to its continuation.

It should not be supposed that, merely because those favoring nationalistic policies have been in control of the federal government at various times in our history, they have always had the national interest or good at heart. More often than not, they have been able to further the interests of their own sections by a strong central government. Nowhere do we see this more clearly than in the issue of a high protective tariff. While it was supported by the nationalists, it was, as a matter of fact, a sectional measure because it obviously benefited one section of the country at the expense of another.

The mere fact that all the conflicting sectional interests have been successfully reconciled without a resort to arms, except in the case of the Civil War, is a splendid tribute to the American spirit of cooperation. But the spirit of compromise has not always worked out as well as might appear on the surface. In the process of give-and-take, there has been too much "take" by certain sections, and too much "give" by others. Sectional interests detrimental to the national good and to the good of other sections have been imposed by the force of greater political and economic power.

AMERICAN politics of the future may continue to develop along sectional lines as in the past. In that case, it is very probable that the conflicts of interest among the different sections will be more sharply accentuated than heretofore. Successful reconciliation will involve a larger degree of give-and-take than we have yet known. On the other hand, it is possible that in the future

Possible future development of American politics

there will be less sectional politics and more class politics, resulting from the great industrialization which now exists. The interests of industrial workers everywhere transcend sectional lines, and if these interests can ever give expression to themselves through a political party, the nature of American politics will be completely altered. Already there are certain indications of this new trend. But it will be a long time before the sectional politics of the past will fail to exert a telling influence upon our national history.

Glimpses of the Past

Twenty-five Years Ago This Week

The Taft administration this week took a strong hand in determining the outcome of the civil war now raging in Nicaragua. Secretary Knox bluntly dismissed the Nicaraguan charge d'affaires in Washington, Senor Rodriguez, and marines and naval vessels are reported heading for the Central American republic. It is no secret that our government is backing the revolutionary party of Colonel Estrada against the regime of President Zelaya.

The British House of Commons has delivered a strong rebuke to the House of Lords for refusing to pass the budget drawn up by the commons. Prime Minister Asquith pointed out that the action of the lords in interfering with a money bill was "a breach of the constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons." King Edward is reported to be alarmed at the growing agitation, which he fears may lead to abolition of the House of Lords. There is no doubt that such an action would endanger the existence of the monarchy.

J. P. Morgan's purchase of the majority shares of the Equitable Life Assurance Society places in his hands an unprecedented degree of banking power. A close cooperation between Morgan and the Standard Oil interests is looked forward to. "Thereby is created," says the "Times," "a community of interest with respect to the management of at least \$3,000,000,000 of resources."

Evidence is growing day by day to prove that Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who

claims to have discovered the North Pole, never came anywhere near that goal. A sea captain and a statistician came forth this week with a story of how Captain Cook bribed them to make up the nautical observations on which he bases his claims. Cook himself has disappeared and there is a great deal of jesting to the effect that he has taken a few days off to discover the South Pole.

Demands for the political rights of women continue with increasing agitation. One of the leaders of the suffragette movement, Miss Alice Paul, of Philadelphia, has just completed a 30-day sentence in Holloway Jail, London, for her share in a demonstration at the home of the lord mayor. Miss Paul went on a hunger strike and had to be forcibly fed after the first two days of her sentence.

The Navy yearbook shows a close race between the United States and Germany for the world's second largest navy. Germany has a slight advantage in numbers, but the American navy has the edge in tonnage. Britannia, of course, "rules the waves."

President Taft's first message to Congress is described by liberals as lacking in vigor and as "invertebrate and colorless, with cut-and-dried features, . . . no more than a cold, official report." Sixteen of its 40 pages are devoted to foreign relations. This unusually high percentage is regarded as a sign of the times.